The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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PROPAGANDA

FROM the mass of propaganda that comes to our desk every morning, we select two items of special interest. We desire, first of all, to acknowledge receipt of a seventy-nine page booklet, "Spain's War of Independence," issued by the Loyalist Spanish Embassy in Washington, which carries a Foreword by Fernando de los Rios in which he blandly asserts that the Nationalist movement represents forces of intolerance, absolute control of freedom of conscience, and the preservation of a social-economic structure through absolutism and terror.

The second item consists of eight gruesome war photographs which convey the vivid impression that the Nationalists are making war only against non-combatant civilians. A stupid mistake, however, was made—a mistake which the more efficient propaganda bureau of the Loyalist Spanish Embassy in Washington would never make in a thousand years. The photographs were inclosed in an envelope bearing the imprint of the Comissariat de Propaganda, Generalitat de Catalunya.

Truly has it been said that this is an age of words and wars, an age in which truth is crushed out of human relationships by gigantic lies in order to induce mass neurosis. By the time the World War ended, Major General J. F. C. Fuller remarks, in the current issue of *Army Ordnance,* propaganda in all its forms had so saturated the minds of the peoples and their governments that, in the demented hysterical world it had created, it was totally impossible to establish a moral peace. Morality had been so outraged that the world had lost all control over its emotions, and a veritable crusade of destruction was launched against the defeated powers. In this state of public dementia it was impossible to create a new world or mend the old: all was fear, vengeance and confusion. Therefore, General Fuller concludes, it was anarchy and not peace which followed the war.

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It seems to us that the Loyalist Spanish Embassy and the Comissariat de Propaganda in Spain are doing their bit to perpetuate that anarchy.

Hitler has given us a valuable clue to the technique of modern propaganda. In "Mein Kampf" he emphasizes the fact that the credibility of a falsehood depends on its enormity. The masses, the crowds in simplicity of soul, fall victims much less easily to the petty falsehood, such as they themselves are guilty of on occasion, than to the great lie which covers them with shame. They cannot believe that others could possibly be guilty of such cynical and deliberate untruth. In other words, a propagandist must lie mightily. Petty lies will not be gulped down; but world public opinion will swallow the alleged massacre following the capture of Badajoz by Nationalist troops and the alleged destruction of Guernica by Franco's aviators.

The Soviets applied the modern propaganda technique in Spain immediately after the establishment of the Republic in April, 1931. This preparatory work, General Fuller tells us, consisted largely in "educating" the masses, grouping them around the symbols of democracy and organizing them into political juntas. Left-wing intellectuals rotted the middle classes. Like bacilli, they poisoned the nation and by degrees corrupted it intellectually and morally, and thus rendered government all but impossible.

"Once moral chaos was established," he writes, "chaos in the form of church burnings and assassinations followed, and directly General Franco raised his standard of revolt against anarchy, the Russian-trained Communists, in order to gain control, at once established a terror and simultaneously broadcast to the outer world that the atrocities they had committed were perpetrated by Franco. This enabled them to go on with their butcheries and turn world public opinion against their opponents."

What about America? Is the Soviet propaganda technique, which for a time proved so terribly effective in Spain, now being directed against our own citizens? If so, what can be done about it?

The recent statement by the bishops on the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference manifests an intimate knowledge and understanding of the Soviet propaganda machine now at work in the United States.

"In our country," the bishops declare, "Communist leaders see three things in their favor: first, a sizable army of propagandists among Left-wing professors, teachers and intellectuals; secondly, the very real dangers to our financial and economic structure; thirdly, the growing articulate discontent among the masses of the people.

"Unhampered by fixed moral principles, Communists would hasten the collapse of the structure of our government, calculating that they will be the beneficiaries as the leaders of the new order. If for the moment they are keeping their activities largely under cover, it is because they are biding their time, awaiting the hoped-for collapse. Meanwhile by arraying class against class, and by tactics of boring from within other organized groups they seek to further the destructive ends of Communism. Traditional and constitutional America means nothing to them. They use the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution to erect a new system of government which will deny that liberty which they now misuse. They are willing to use any means to attain their end. Their present restraint is expediency. Their delay is strategy.

"Many of the promoters of organizations calling themselves peace and youth movements, sponsors of stage and screen entertainment, and so-called crusaders for 'democracy,' especially those upholding the Communism of Spain and refusing to condemn the Bolshevism of Russia are, consciously or unconsciously, propagandists and agents of Communism. They constitute part of the 'United or Popular Front.' The trickery of Communists, as Pius XI points out, knows no bounds. They try perfidiously 'to worm their way even into professedly Catholic and religious organizations.'"

There are a number of things we can do to counteract subversive propaganda. We can play an active rôle in the reconstruction of the social order. We can study the Soviet technique in order to protect ourselves. We can participate in a national drive against indecent and immoral magazines and advertisements which are destroying the moral fiber of the nation and hence preparing the way for a dictatorship either of the Right or the Left.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

WHILE hundreds of clerks began tabulating the first returns of the unemployment census, the view was expressed that conditions change so rapidly that the results, when the count is completed and everything possible has been done to check the voluntary returns by making test enumerations, will not be applicable to the situation prevailing at that time. On the basis of available official data, unemployment totals are mounting steadily. There is general agreement that government, industry and labor should cooperate to the fullest extent to revive business and employment; but there is a wide difference of opinion regarding the means to be used. Labor wants greater purchasing power through wage increases. Industry wants less political interference and, at the same time, relief from obstructive taxes. Certain government officials are

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convinced that the main point of attack should be prices. It seems to us that it would be a mistake to concentrate upon any one method. The attack against the current business recession must go forward on all fronts. One factor in the situation is the operation of the unemployment insurance system in twenty-two states after January 1. The Social Security Board reports that approximately 11,500,000 workers will then be eligible for unemployment benefits. It is believed that insurance payments will have a steadying effect by maintaining a certain amount of purchasing power.

Do-nothing Victory

WE CAN at least agree with the final declaration of the Brussels Nine-Power treaty conference that "a prompt suspension of hostilities in the Far East would be in the best interests not only of China and Japan but of all nations." Undoubtedly with each day's conflict loss of life and property increases and the ultimate solution becomes more difficult. Most diplomats have placidly resigned themselves to a Japanese victory and are congratulating each other that they at least prevented the expansion of the war into a world-wide conflict. Writing in the current *Harper's,* Nathaniel Peffer observes that "the kind of negation that decrees that several million men more shall not die, that more wealth should not be destroyed, that more generations in the future shall not be impoverished to pay for the wars of this generation is positivism and activism in the superlative." The negative success of the Brussels conference was followed by an announcement that anti-Communist Italy had completed construction of a 3,000-ton destroyer for anti-Fascist Russia. We expect any day to hear that Russia has become a signatory of the anti-Comintern pact. It remains to be seen whether the recent visit of Premier Camille Chautemps and Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos of France to London will result in anything more realistic than a prolonged study of the colonial problem. Mr. Chamberlain is reported to have said that England must ultimately contemplate that other countries should be brought into the conversations—but hastily added that he did not think "we have got as far as immediate extension of the conversations, although it may, perhaps, come at a later stage." The rapid pace of international diplomacy is frightening.

Christmas Giving

WE HEARTILY endorse Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion that those who dread spring housecleaning should combine it with the Christmas spirit. Why wait until spring? Why not make a festive occasion of the weeding out and sharing of our usable surplus possessions? Things which have ceased to be useful to us, things we are tired of, she reminds us, in the current issue of *Reader's Digest,* could begin life all over again under our neighbor's Christmas tree. Every member of the household should take part in this hunt for gifts—something we can enjoy giving, something we would be proud to see someone else enjoy. Our parish St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Christ Child Society or some similar organization might well be selected as the distribution agency. Our Christmas will be more blessed if we observe it, not in the modern pagan manner, but in the spirit of Him Who, while He walked this earth, always had compassion on the multitude.

Housing Messages

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT gave over no small difficulty when he stated that "the problem of reducing costs to a point where larger volume, longer employment and higher annual earnings are possible is one that must be solved in major part by the building industry itself." The very point is that the building industry has proved quite incapable of solving this problem. For about a decade or so that, indeed, has seemed to be the housing problem. The reduction in financing costs which the government can bring more or less directly has no fundamental effect. The financial idea is the same, that someone would have property with a mortgage against it and would have to pay interest very regularly on the mortgage or lose the property. The contemplated additions to the Federal Housing Act would raise the system of mortgage debt (some might call it usury) to about as a high a degree of efficiency as possible, but surely there is nothing new in such debt economics. The President seems obligated to do something new; he is certainly obliged to do it if he wants a $12,000,000,000 or $16,000,000,000 housing boom. The building industry—owners, renters, lenders, borrowers, contractors, subcontractors, labor contractors and labor—require outside interference of one sort or another. Especially if someone is going to talk about cutting union hourly wage rates, some trustworthy intermediary must check and explain many things. The housing message to Congress was good; we would prefer to see a housing message to the building industry.

Full Circle

NO ONE can entirely regret that the President said (if he did say), "Engineers are human just like I am"—not the English faculty of Columbia, which had the happiness of calling him to account, in the person of one of its staff, nor the President himself, surely, to whom such a rebuke must have all the refreshment of novelty. Nor can the general public, how purist soever, regret it, because it is one of those instances of the wheel turning completely around, which redress many startling situations. This

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present administration has been called many things, and probably will be called many more before it is finished; but everyone must agree that it is as cultured as all get out. Administration spokesmen and defenders have tossed about Milton and Donne. The President himself not only makes free use of the classics, from Dante backward into the Latin and forward in the vernacular —he is a man of high and quite undisguisable general culture; so much so, indeed, that there has more than once arisen the suspicion that he has felt he must do something about it. The combination of "the Groton and Harvard intonation" with "the idiom of the man in the street" has been commented on before this. If he put the idiom on a shade too thickly in describing engineers, it is a human lapse of which most will think forgivingly, a kind of kinship-invoking touch of nature. On the other hand, if he has really begun to say things like that spontaneously, it will at least do him no harm with the groups for whose benefit he might once have said them deliberately.

A Vicious Decision

THE LATE G. K. Chesterton—a wise man if ever a wise man walked this world—was on nothing more insistent than on the right of the ordinary sane layman to judge the deep matters affecting his life himself, in the teeth of any adverse specialist opinion whatsoever. We have often asserted this right, which is the mere corollary of universal suffrage and constitutional democracy. We assert it with redoubled emphasis, in the matter of a Boston judge's recent acquittal of a drunken driver. According to the New York *Times,* this driver's car struck another car containing a man and his two-year-old son. Both were killed. The culpable driver was freed by Judge John E. Swift of the charge of manslaughter, and indeed of any penalty whatever except the payment of $400, on the extraordinary ground that "he was so drunk he was not in a position to form a judgment or exercise his will." That the Registrar of Motor Vehicles immediately did his duty by permanently suspending the guilty man's driving license, is one reassuring note in the case; but it is far from covering the case.

WHO CAN estimate the aid and comfort this incredible judicial decision will extend to others of the weak-minded who have not yet been able to grasp the criminality of drunken driving? Who can gage its future effect in lowering still more the public esteem of the bench—one of the most prolific causes of crime in this country? Above all, who can deal with the inwardness of such a decision, from the legal, the moral, the merely psychological point of view? What law excuses a man from the possible criminal results of an action, if those results can be clearly envisaged beforehand—as, for instance, in the parallel case of robbery with violence, ending in the death of the victim? What moral principle expunges guilt in such a case? What type of individual judgment, produced by what sort of experience, can dictate such a pronouncement? Professor Warner, of the Harvard Law School, has grimly called the decision "a legal landmark." It is to be hoped it may not remain so—that spontaneous public opinion at least will strive for some method of getting it reversed.

Quis Custodiet—?

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH, convening in Buffalo, were told by one speaker that "educating the student's sense of humor is a social responsibility often ignored in the English curriculum," although "in so far as a pupil fails to understand humor, he fails to understand life." It may be that these words cut more deeply than even the speaker realized. In any event, they point not so much to a social responsibility ignored as to a chasm unperceived and hence permanently unfilled. How to educate the student's sense of humor is a topic which might be discussed with profit; but there must surely be general agreement that it cannot be done by a teacher who himself does not possess a sense of humor. And how many teachers do possess it? The sense of humor is not mere readiness to laughter; it is a basic sense of proportion—a natural perception of the greatness and the littleness of man. Among the legions of English teachers abroad in the land, whether in schools or colleges, there are list-makers, date and "characteristics" memorizers, diagram designers, conscientious classifiers galore; there are very few indeed who can approach the portrait of humanity which is the content of great literature, with any direct sense of this specifically human dimension—this anomaly which constitutes the definition of human.

THE CURRENT *Catholic World,* for example, carries an enjoyable paper by Joseph Belvedere detailing his experience in a literature course in which "the *dénouement* of two weeks of Coleridge was the announcement that 'Coleridge is the fifth-ranking Romantic poet.'" What college graduate cannot match this, perhaps with reminiscences of some seminar in the "English Humorists" themselves, in which the entire approach to the subject was thus stultified and deadened? In truth, it is not too easy to "educate the student's sense of humor." Perhaps we had better not try. There are people who will carry into their graves a dislike of Scott induced solely by the "outlines" they were forced to make of "Ivanhoe." Let us not do the same sorry service by Dickens.

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RIGHTS AND LEFTS IN MEXICO

By RANDALL POND

MORE than two years ago, I wrote a piece for THE COMMONWEAL that bore the title, "Discord among the High C's." It was designed to show the break that had come between the oppressive dictator-types in Mexico headed by Calles and Canabal with the newer, more progressive tendencies represented by Cárdenas and his heavily armed supporter, Saturnino Cedillo. Calles and Canabal are in exile today, but Cárdenas and Cedillo remain. What is behind the recent break between the men who ended one of the bloodiest phases Mexican history has known when they united to overthrow Calles?

There is no question about certain dividing lines which have appeared in Mexico since Cárdenas became President in 1934. I have watched that line since it first began to streak across local politics and I have reported for THE COMMONWEAL many of the incidents which resulted from men lining up on opposite sides. The world, willy-nilly, is dividing into camps of the Left and the Right. Mexico is no exception to the rule and in this article I propose to show who are the men who may be roughly grouped under the respective banners of moderates and radicals.

When Cárdenas overthrew Calles, he brought General Cedillo into his Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture. The heavy-set, dark-faced soldier from San Luís Potosí had won his generalship on the field of revolutionary battle. For years he had been the *jefe politico* of San Luís Potosí and was reputed to command an agrarian army of between 15,000 and 25,000 men, all well armed and mounted. Calles knew that, throughout his bloody persecution of the Church, Cedillo allowed that institution full freedom of activity; but Calles, remembering the agrarian army, never challenged Cedillo to battle.

In September, Cárdenas went to Yucatan to carve up the holdings of the men who had given Mexico first place in the production of *henequén,* an important factor in the world's supply of cordage and waterproofed paper used in the building industry. While he was gone, students at the national agricultural school in Chapingo, near the capital, went on a strike, demanding several reforms in the institution's administration. General Cedillo received the petition and said he would act; but first, he declared, there must be order and discipline.

The words "order" and "discipline" are veritable red flags before bulls to this generation of turbulent Mexican students. A bitter attack was made on Cedillo. He was accused of having overloaded the payroll at Agriculture, of having favored his friends in student scholarship appointments at Chapingo, and of many other things, including the familiar charge of being a "reactionary." The Secretary of Agriculture at once wired to Cárdenas, asking for his support. In the event that such support could not be given, the President was asked to accept the resignation of his old friend. To the amazement of local politicians, Cárdenas accepted the resignation.

Cedillo retired from the army and went to live at his hacienda, Las Palomas, in San Luís Potosí. At once the air became charged with rumors. Cedillo was gathering an army; he was going to ally himself with dissatisfied conservatives; he had had secret negotiations with General Almazán, widely respected commander of the northern zone and foe of radicalism. At the height of such rumors, orders came for the removal of government airplanes from an airdrome in San Luís Potosí and soldiers who had been in that state for years were replaced by others from the capital. It was the tensest situation which had occurred since Calles returned to Mexico in 1935.

Before attempting to analyze fully the reasons for the Cárdenas-Cedillo break, there is the necessity to speak of the recent activities of that notorious agitator and scourge of Mexican labor, Vicente Lombardo Toledano. The secretary general of the Confederation of Mexican Workers has presidential ambitions and he, like every reasonable observer of affairs, has concluded that General Cedillo and another powerful personality, General Ramon Yocupicio, are the most probable candidates of the more conservative groups in Mexican politics.

Knowing this, it is easy to follow the line of action developed by Lombardo in the past four months. First of all, it was necessary to remove Cedillo, the conservative balance-wheel, from the Cárdenas Cabinet. This was done with the aid of student agitation and a speech campaign which depicted the Secretary of Agriculture as "Fascist." The next move was to create a situation in San Luís Potosí which would give the CTM deputies in Congress a chance to appeal to Cárdenas, asking that the local powers in San Luís be deposed and a provisional governor appointed until new elections could be held.

The plan progressed to the point where a political meeting was held in Valles, a small town quite familiar to American tourists who have passed over the Laredo-Mexico City highway. During the speech-making, shots were fired and

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some of Lombardo's supporters were killed and wounded. At once his cohorts in Congress went into action, demanding the governor's scalp and the "exile, even the shooting" of Cedillo. To date, the President has done nothing to indicate that he will proceed as Toledano wishes, as he seems too prudent to risk an action that might result in revolution. Cedillo disclaims all thought of revolt and says he merely wishes to be let alone.

While carrying on his duel with Cedillo, Toledano carried the fight to his other formidable opponent, General Ramón Yocupicio, governor of Sonora. If any man has become prominent in Mexican politics during the past year, it is the Yaqui soldier who needed no help from the National Revolutionary party in order to become chief magistrate of his state. Of revolutionary origin, the governor has become distinguished for his frontal attack on fundamental problems, while at the same time he has refused to be rushed off his feet by radical politicians seeking wealth and advancement under cover of their "Communism."

When Toledano sent CTM agitators to Sonora to organize the workers of town and field, many of them were jailed for activities deemed dangerous to the state. At once the cry went up that Yocupicio was "allied with the reaction," that he was a "Fascist and clerical enemy of the workers." A commission, made up of senators and deputies, went to Sonora to investigate, and later submitted a secret report to Cárdenas. Yocupicio emerged from the affair a bigger man than before and Toledano suffered a drop in prestige because he could not prove his charges.

Recently, the CTM leader passed through Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, on his way to labors of agitation in the north. Almost immediately the wires were hot with his hysterical charge that Yocupicio's gunmen had "attempted to kill him as his train went through the city." Mexico, used by now to the ravings of the fanatical Lombardo, laughed at his complaints and waited for Yocupicio to tell his side of the story, which he did, wiring the President an official denial. Still, when Lombardo got home (safely), he urged his friends to repeat their congressional maneuver in an attempt to have Yocupicio removed from the governorship of Sonora, just as they had attempted to seize the direction of affairs in San Luís Potosí. Cárdenas refused to provoke a conflict by forcing Yocupicio from power, especially in view of the fact that while Yocupicio has not the armed forces of Cedillo at his back he is immensely popular with the vigorous Sonorans. Nor has Cárdenas forgotten that every Mexican revolution since 1910 has begun in the north country.

As matters stand now, it looks as though Cárdenas and Toledano have gathered around them radicals of every stripe, ranging from mild Socialists to out-and-out Communists. On the other side stand Cedillo and Yocupicio. The former believes that Cárdenas has been mistaken in his agricultural policy and in his attitude toward the Church. He said as much in an interview with the editor of *Hoy*, the most widely read weekly magazine in Mexico. Yocupicio has gone ahead with land repartition, but has done so in a just manner that has won him praise from the hacendadoes themselves.

The presidential campaign of 1940 is still two years away. The burning question of "Who after Cárdenas?" finds the spotlight turned on Cedillo and Yocupicio, who may be called "conservative revolutionaries"; and Toledano and the young Luís Rodriguez, governor of Guanajuato, former secretary to Cárdenas, and possibly the most audible "Red," next to Toledano, now doing his best to frighten the Mexican people.

A former President of Mexico told me not so long ago that he feared a situation would arise which would "surely make for another Spain." If and when that day comes (God forbid), you may be reasonably sure that the above men will be found on opposite sides. The lion will lie down with the lamb centuries before Cedillo and Yocupicio will work in the same political combine as Toledano and Rodríguez.

Seguin

When I was a boy and all the stars
Were gone out in the sky and fog unfurled
Another universe on mine, Seguin
Put a center in the shapeless world.

Steady as a heartbeat in the dark,
The far-off fog-horn made a homely sound
Like a friendly cow that thought of home
And felt it lonely with no one around.

There was a time, still farther back, when I
Was sure it was a cow, as plain's could be,
Lowing out there lonesome in the dark,
With no one else to call out to but me.

And when I grew up tall enough to know
It was a lighthouse horn, it did not seem
Any less a wonder to me than
The strange and haunting sequence of a dream.

I could not see Seguin when it was day,
It was too far to see in clearest light,
It took fear and fog to give Seguin
A being in the blindness of a night.

Vast things stood by me at the brink of sleep,
Working out a mighty work of art,
I heard them set in silence and the gloom
The sound and rhythm of a beating heart.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

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RELIEF AND REEMPLOYMENT

By MARY J. McCORMICK

THE WITHDRAWAL of state and federal appropriations for unemployment relief is resulting in curtailment both of the number of families cared for by public agencies and the amount of relief given. Such curtailment is often the outcome of a hasty survey of available jobs and the equally hasty placement of individuals in industry. Arbitrary slashing of relief budgets in accordance with present earnings then takes place. The situations that result for thousands of dependent families are tragic. The income, no matter how small, of which they have been relatively sure, is no longer forthcoming. The new placement, even though it ultimately means independence and steady wage, is bound to seem uncertain until the person concerned has a chance to become acquainted with it and feel secure in it.

In the meantime these individuals are faced with the problem of adjusting to an income which may be sufficient for present needs but cannot be made to stretch over the accumulated needs of perhaps five years—years during which every available resource was exhausted. Such persons want encouragement and direction in taking up again their own responsibilities. They also, at times, want material help in the form of additional supplementary relief.

For the social workers who must make the most of the relief that is available and at the same time refuse the relief that is necessary but not available, such a combination of circumstances results in strain and conflict. The professional worker knows that the needs of the families under his care extend beyond immediate, material wants. Security in the physical sense, that is, an adequate budget, is essential. The mental security that comes from the continued assurance of satisfactory housing, sufficient clothing, and protection of health is also essential.

If this mental security is to be realized, supplementary help must be available to families during these periods of readjustment. At the same time, such help can be safely given only if social workers are free to continue their work with families after employment has been secured and economic independence is possible. The danger that comes to any family when there is too great dependence on outside sources of income and the reluctance, at times, to give up the help that comes from such sources, are problems which must be met at this time.

The social worker's responsibility to the clients whom he serves in a relief crisis therefore involves more than the granting or refusing of help in accordance with the amount of money available. It demands, with families, a constant fight against the mental attitude of resignation and acceptance in which relief becomes an end in itself instead of a means toward the reestablishment of independence and normal living. For such individuals, money symbolizes power and the person who gives or withholds money will soon be looked to for the solution of any difficulties that present themselves. When relief is discontinued, the worker is faced with the problem of building up an independence which is both mental and material. The solution must come in the shaping of a mental attitude as well as in the development of earning power.

At the same time, the social worker in a reemployment situation has a definite responsibility to the community in which he works. He knows the dangers that result, for inadequate families, from a too hasty curtailment of relief, but he realizes also the pressure that is bound to come from independent taxpayers as soon as employment of any kind is available. It is difficult, perhaps, for the average business man to see why relief should be continued once employment has been secured. It is necessary to explain the apparent contradiction to the families who are still partially dependent as well as to the public that has been supporting them. The social worker can do this only through constant interpretation to the lay public of the needs, both material and psychological, of those families who have, over a period of years, been deprived of the advantages of normal living. With the families themselves, it is necessary to stress the importance of again assuming responsibility for their own support and the solution of their own problems.

At the same time, the social worker must remain loyal to professional standards. His primary concern is to develop, within the persons with whom he is working, the capacity to lead a satisfying and socially useful life. To do this it is not enough to bring man and job together. The professional aspect of relief and reemployment present problems and responsibilities that are very different from those faced by industry or even by employment agencies. Industry is interested in obtaining the right man for a particular job. Such factors as age, experience, technical skill and prospective output are important to the foreman or personnel director who must fill vacancies and keep machinery in motion. The employment agency, on the other hand, is interested in bringing man and job together and in meeting the needs

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of those who are seeking employment as well as of the industries that want workers. Its responsibility to each group ceases when a given vacancy has been filled.

To the social worker, however, the mechanical removal of the problem of unemployment will not result in the permanent readjustment of the dependent individual. Such adjustment comes only when that individual is not only sure of an adequate wage in a stable occupation but when he feels that he belongs to the job, is a part of it, and has a right to expect security, both economic and mental, from it. Only then will such an individual be able to face his own problems, and accept responsibility for their solution. This is the professional concept of reemployment. When this concept is understood the social worker feels that he has been able to put his professional standards into practise.

Personal convictions are necessary to support these standards. It is because of his consciousness of the personal worth of those who come to him that the professional worker objects to arbitrary methods of relief curtailment and reemployment. He knows that satisfactory adjustment of the individual and the consequent development of his ability to meet his own problems is a certainty only when the worker himself can give more time and thought to the families under care.

When case loads reach such numbers as 150 or 200 families per worker, it is a physical impossibility to give time and thought to individual problems. Under such arrangement, there is no opportunity to know the real problems of the person concerned, to find for him the right place in industry and to follow up that placement until he is conscious of his own security in it. The social worker makes his greatest contribution to his client, in a personal way, when that client no longer needs him, not because the problems themselves do not exist, but because the person himself is able to meet them. Proposed solutions of the present reemployment problem must take this into account.

For social workers, therefore, the situation creates responsibilities peculiar to their profession. The person who approaches the task well grounded in a philosophy that teaches the importance and the worth of the individual feels acutely his responsibility to those who bring their problems to him. No less keenly does he feel an obligation to his employers, and the worker on the staff of a public agency is really in the employ of the taxpayers of the community. He must do everything in his power to conserve the money that they are supplying. At the same time, his responsibility to the standards and principles of his profession cannot be set aside or violated. His code of ethics is as well-defined as the code of doctor or lawyer. Finally, there is his responsibility to himself. His own personal convictions and beliefs must direct his activities and his approach to the problems that he faces. He must be loyal to himself and to his personal code.

Such are the problems of the social workers during a time of reemployment. They are indicative of the social aspects of readjustment and recovery.

WORKERS' COOPERATIVES[1]

By JOSEPH H. FICHTER

IN COOPERATIVE shops and factories the worker enjoys all the rights and privileges of a union laborer, and in addition has the satisfaction of knowing that he is, in a sense, in his own employ. As in every similar undertaking there were labor problems in cooperative industry, and the establishment of unions among the employees was an important factor in opening the search for a solution of these problems. When unionization first began to gather strength the cooperatives were still engrossed in the controversy over profit-sharing. Were the workers to get a big bonus, and the consumers the rest? Or were the consumers to come first? The union's stabilizing of wages and hours solved the question, and there has since been very little disturbance over it.

As the cooperatives in England expanded, the workers wished, for social reasons, to keep in contact with other fellow workers. By 1891 there was formed in Manchester a district employees' union, which, in 1895, became the Amalgamated Union of Cooperative Employees. In 1920, the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers was formed, which within thirteen years had 127,600 members, of whom all but 6 percent were cooperative employees.

The cooperative movement is naturally very close to the labor movement, for workers are the bulk of the population, and consumers are all the population. Organized labor is in full sympathy with cooperative idealism as is attested by the following message sent by the president of the American Federation of Labor to the last Congress of the Cooperative League of the United States:

[1] *This is the concluding instalment of an article begun in last week's issue.*

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> The American Federation of Labor is ready to work with any constructive movement for consumers' cooperation. We realize what cooperation can mean to wage earners and are anxious to see a strong and lasting movement built up in this country.

In this country, wherever there are unions, the cooperatives employ union members. In Czechoslovakia, trade union membership is required of all consumer cooperative plants and stores. The National Congress of Workingmen's Cooperatives in Spain insisted that their cooperative societies shall employ none but trade-unionists. In other countries, and places where there are no unions, the worker is quickly lifted to the level set by the cooperatives. For example, in Norway the tobacco factory of the cooperative union sets the standard in the industry which the government requires private-profit industry to follow. In practically all countries cooperative enterprise was started by the workers, and the natural consequence is that it has always been on a friendly basis with labor unionism. In many instances the cooperatives run on a closed shop basis regardless of the attitude of their competitors.

Another reason for the close alignment of labor unions and cooperatives is the significant discovery made by workers after they had won the right to strike, and had gained better wages and hours. They themselves bore the cost in the higher prices they paid for commodities. The "surplus-profit" was still being withdrawn in large amounts by the private entrepreneur. The problems of labor were still not solved, and the organizers of labor in the cooperatives believe they will not be solved till the majority of consumers will be employed in consumer cooperative enterprises. That millennium has already been reached in Desborough, England, and Freidorf, Switzerland.

The preamble of an agreement made in France in 1920, and reaffirmed in 1936, between the cooperatives and the General Federation of Labor, nicely brings out the full import of this consumer-worker combination. It informs us that the "Consumer Cooperatives are institutions which by their nature do not pursue profit, and by their ideals constitute the elements of a new society." Fundamentally, this "constituting the elements of a new society" is nothing more than going back to the Christian concept of the dignity of work.

How is it that a cooperative store can handle $5,000 in trade a week with eight shop assistants, while a private store needs twenty to do the same amount of business? Why is the cooperative output per man in production, warehouses and transportation higher than that of private concerns? It is simply because the dignity of position is lightening the burden of the worker, and making him devise methods more efficient. It is because the worker-consumer has a vision of himself in the exalted status of self-employer. There is a worthiness in the most menial task performed by the lowest clerk—because he is performing it for himself. He is able to meet the cooperative manager, his "boss," on an equal footing, and obey his orders in a spirit of cooperation, not in a spirit of submission.

Cooperative workers entertain a genuine presage of a better world. To come nearer that goal they are working with the same energetic earnestness that many able private business men put into their struggle for a more personal success. The competent and self-sacrificing leadership of the cooperative movement in both Europe and America tends greatly to disprove the theory that immediate self-interest is the only motive urging men on to hard work. These men and women help their fellow workers by their action, and helping others they must help themselves.

The individual member of a cooperative gets a spirited satisfaction out of the coordination of aims involved in the movement. He is usually an idealist, but a practical idealist—if the terms do not conflict—in that he sees his immediate work doing widespread good. He is showing others the intrinsic worth of labor as such, and enjoying the extrinsic effects of labor in a personal and practical way.

There can be no doubt that this ideal appraisal of work colors the relationship between the cooperative employers and workers. There is not the slightest tinge of antagonism between those in executive positions and those performing the more ordinary and routine work. Many in the white-collar positions have risen from smaller local societies where they displayed a penchant for efficient management. They spent years in becoming imbued with the fact that the alliance between workers and consumers is of the closest possible kind. They know that disruption from within is out of the question, and they labor hand-in-hand with the workers, with a sort of religious zeal for "the cause."

So the workers in the cooperative are using their time and energy not simply for the sake of work, nor even for the money that is paid them. They are trying to translate their work into the values that money cannot buy, into rendering service to fellow workers, into making their lives something more than an endless drudgery. Of course the spiritual motive of charity comes into it. No one can long work with the true cooperative ideal without becoming conscious of an increased sympathy and charity toward his fellow workers.

But the worker need not necessarily be employed by the cooperative before he can reach an understanding of its ideals and receive its many benefits and privileges. The man or woman who gains a living from some source outside the cooperative system and is at the same time a

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member of the organization enjoys three distinct advantages from simple membership: (a) he—or she—is enabled to save an appreciable amount of money in the purchase of commodities; (b) he enjoys the pride of ownership as a part-owner in a business enterprise; (c) he is helping to safeguard democratic principles from the ravages of selfish "big business."

A worker becomes a member in the cooperative when he buys a share (usually fixed at $5 each) in the business. He may continue to buy shares up to $1,000 worth, but most members own from $5 to $25 worth. Shares cannot be sold from person to person, nor on exchanges, but the society will buy them back at par; thus eliminating the element of speculation.

Shares, upon which is built the capital of the cooperatives, bring only a modest interest rate; the real source of saving for the member is in the return of the business profit in the form of patronage refunds. He is given a rebate yearly, sometimes quarterly, in proportion to his patronage at the cooperative store. If the rate of patronage refunds is 9 percent—as it is in many American cooperatives—and if the worker spends $500 at the store he is receiving a sizable check at the end of the period. Perhaps to some men $45 is an insignificant sum, but to the average workingman it is a neat saving accomplished with a minimum of effort.

The rate of returns varies in different sections of the country, and especially in different countries. Some cooperatives are known as "low dividend" and others as "high dividend" societies. The highest recorded are some in Scotland where commodities are correspondingly high in price to make possible the large patronage refunds. In these European countries the rates are as follows:

Denmark	8 to 10 percent
England	5 percent
France	4 percent
Norway	9 percent
Sweden	9 to 11 percent
Scotland	12 to 20 percent
Switzerland	9 percent

This money, coming as it does simply for purchasing goods at the cooperative stores, is regarded as a saving rather than as part of the income. Members are urged to use it to buy more shares in the cooperative, or to invest it in the cooperative saving account or "loan fund." The result has been an encouragement of thrift among classes which ordinarily save little or nothing, and the family saving among the workers has become one of the major accomplishments of the movement. It has provided capital for expansion, and with each move of expansion of the cooperatives the members have gained greater savings.

Many a private business man is probably inquisitive to know how cooperatives can effect such substantial savings for their members. The explanation is simple and the saving is effected in a variety of ways. Mainly it is through efficiency of organization and large turnover of goods. The amount of trade in the cooperative stores is much greater than in private stores so that the wage cost per unit of sales is considerably less. In some places the volume of business brings the cost so low that the cooperative could easily drive private merchants out of business. Instead it maintains the price level, and shows a very substantial refund to members. Other contributing factors are: low cost of capital and the building up of interest-free reserves; policy of selling for cash, credit losses being negligible; smaller advertising expenditures, loyalty of members, and price and quality of goods being the advertising medium; certain tax exemptions allowed by some governments.

Besides the tangible benefit of hard cash accruing to the worker as a member of consumer cooperation there is the intangible, but no less real, benefit of pride of ownership. Clifford V. Gregory, who spent two and a half months in the study of the European cooperatives, feels that consumer cooperation might make some definite contributions to the economic life of America. And this is one of them. He says that it would give

> . . . to many people in whom the sense of ownership is absent, the stability that comes from becoming part-owner of a business enterprise. This sense of ownership seems to accompany shares in a cooperative in greater degree than is the case with stock ownership in a private enterprise.

There is in reality a vast margin of difference between stock-ownership in private corporations and cooperatives. Where will you find the man who attends board meetings of the company in which he holds stocks or bonds? He is well aware that his five or six or ten shares of stock will allow him little voice in the managerial policy of the company. He is really a part-owner of the enterprise but feels absolutely no sense of ownership because he has no control over the spending of his stake in the business. Control is a matter of capital and the individual, or group, which has the greatest amount of capital invested is to all practical purposes the owner of the business.

Now in the cooperative system the direct opposite is in practice. Ownership is invested in all the member-consumers. The policies of the business are controlled by men, not by money, and hence the cooperatives are truly owned by the owners and not by so lifeless a thing as capital.

This ideal of living ownership is founded on one of the three fundamental principles devised by the original cooperators, the Rochdale Weavers. It is really regarded as the most important of all cooperative dicta. The cooperative co-owner who owns $1,000 worth of shares has no

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more voting power than the one who owns only $5 worth—one share. The member who has been in cooperation for twenty-five years and has perhaps risen to a high executive position has no more chance to gain control of the business than the man who has entered less than a week ago. Naturally the wise experience of the older cooperator is carefully listened to, but likewise are the fresh suggestions of the new member given full attention.

The problem of continual conflict between the better- and the less-informed members of the cooperative is not as great as might at first be supposed. It is not a question of manager or chairman versus member but one of owner working with owner for mutual self-help. As voting members in their own business both executive and ordinary members know that the older man cannot possibly—even if he wished it—corner control of the enterprise. This knowledge colors the relations and softens the conflicts between the two, and preserves in the former a deep sense of responsibility, and heightens in the latter a pleasant sense of the pride of ownership.

Of course, in cooperativism, just as in every other voluntary association of men and women, there is seldom a full attendance of members at the meetings. In his first enthusiasm the cooperative owner attends every meeting and votes very carefully, but often he sees that he can contribute very little in comparison to those who are fully acquainted with the practises of the movement. If he is well-informed and lastingly enthusiastic he will continue active participation. In this way there is continually going on a sort of "natural selection" of the most capable member-owners who tend to guide the practises of the group. It may be a number amounting to 60 or 70 percent of the total membership; it may be even less.

But whether or not a man actively exercises his rights of ownership in his cooperative the fact remains that he is an owner. Many an artist gets more satisfaction from his possession of creative ability than he does from the actual execution of a work of art. So, many a worker delights in the knowledge that he is an owner, and a power, in a successful business enterprise. He can "take it or leave it." Merely knowing that it is good business for him to sell his labor at a high price outside the cooperative, and buy his necessities at low cost from the cooperative, is a great satisfaction in itself. He is helping along the business, his business.

The close union existing between member-consumers, and the democratic principle of "one member—one vote" have within them the possibility of teaching the complete meaning of democracy. President Roosevelt expressed it very well in an address at St. Paul, Minnesota, October 9, 1936, when he said:

> We in Washington have recognized that cooperation and cooperatives must come from the people themselves. Initiative and management itself spring from and carry on from the bottom up rather than from the top down.

This movement from below, which is a movement carried on by the nation as consumer, is the direct antithesis of the selfish individualism that was making of us a nation of economic serfs. Said Professor Harold J. Laski of England:

> The very essence of cooperation is the denial that the profit-making motive can ever produce a just and humane society.

These are serious words that should be well pondered by the worker seeking safeguards for his liberties. Private profit business went to such extremes that the worker could no longer call himself a free agent either in selling his labor or in buying the necessities of life. But now the cooperatives have unfurled the possibilities of an economic democracy, and at the same time reawakened a knowledge of the modes and methods of traditional Americanism in government.

Last year I ran a series of weekly articles dealing with the Cooperative Movement in a Southern newspaper, and almost immediately received "letters from the readers" charging me with everything anti-social, from Communism to Fascism. I was "leaning over backward," and arguing against free competition, and being at the same time a collectivist and a regimentationalist. All of these charges are easy enough to refute, and a better understanding of the fundamentals of cooperativism will clear them up. An interesting statement by Leland Olds will go a long way with people who depend greatly on quotations from an authority. After questioning hundreds of people on the democratic aspect of the system, and closely watching it in operation, Mr. Olds has this to say:

> There appeared almost equal unanimity in the view that cooperative enterprise was an important influence in preserving freedom of business against the extension of the State, that is against measures which are commonly described in the United States by such terms as socialistic or regimentation.

Even private competitors admitted that the cooperatives tended to "preserve freedom against the rise of some form of totalitarian state."

Consumer cooperation is guilty of neither of the charges so frequently leveled against it. It does not threaten the existence of legitimate private business, and it does not develop economic and political radicalism. The worker can readily realize that the political sympathies of most consumer cooperatives must lie with the party that is in favor of labor. Officially they maintain a political neutrality but it is to be expected that the members should lean toward the group which promises to be democratic rather than plutocratic.

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ON SEEING PEOPLE OFF

By SISTER JULIE

WHO HAS not suffered the agony of seeing people off? Or the more poignant torture of being seen off? We will not consider the various painful situations of being seen off by one's family, the situations in which the degree of painfulness is in exact ratio to the degree of kinship. The less, the worse, the greater, the better, to put it tersely. Other factors are sometimes determining; for example, the baby.

Consider the seeing-off of a young mother and her infant by the anxious father. He has carried the baby into the coach for her and deposited him in her waiting arms, both parents in a taciturn mood. The baby is speechless but not motionless. With marvellous dexterity he waves his arms in all directions, grabbing now his mother's hair, now her purse, which he throws into the aisle. The father, meantime, is preoccupied carrying in the luggage, which distinctly emphasizes the baby. One would think from a casual glance that several babies were traveling unaccompanied. There seems to be nothing that anyone else could use. There are five bags bulging and shapeless, all of which the father handles in very gingerly fashion, obviously nervous about them. There is the go-cart folded to give the appearance of being easy to carry. There is the play-pen likewise folded into a deceiving rectangle.

At last the young mother, already rather bedraggled, is enthroned among her household goods, the go-cart over her head, a sword of Damocles, threatening to come out of its collapsible state at any minute, the play-pen shooting out into the aisle, menacing all who pass by, the bulging bags bulwarking her at either side, and, marvel of marvels, a dainty pillow on the opposite seat. The disposition of the paraphernalia has been accompanied by rather gruff monosyllables, the mother's distorted and twisted by the baby's unpredictable jerks and lurches as he reaches out for a new plaything.

At the conductor's long-drawn out "B-o-a-r-d," the father dashes off the train and stations himself outside the window, which he has just closed with a final herculean effort. The mother holds the baby up for a farewell smile. She points at Daddy waiting pitifully for his son's farewell. Daddy makes idiotic grimaces, waves his arms frantically, forgets his wife, forgets to send love to anyone, forgets to tell her to write, throws all his effort into the attempt to win his son's attention. The baby grabs at everything in sight except his father; he stares vacuously at his mother, at the ladies in the next seat, at a little boy on the platform outside. The train begins to move slowly; the father jumps up and down in a last frenzy; runs alongside for a few minutes, until he is lost from view. The passengers can only hope that he regains his equilibrium without mishap. The mother relaxes; the agony of being seen off is over. The baby suddenly grabs his mother's earring and throws it at a young man across the aisle. "Dada," he croons.

The painfulness of seeing people off is mitigated if one does it in somewhat of a professional function; for instance, that of being put in charge of a minor, or of someone who does not speak the language of the country, or of a stranger in foreign parts who is supposed to be in need of genteel companionship.

I remember one occasion when I was put in charge of Geraldine. Some place between London and Folkestone, an excited-looking, white-haired gentleman put his head into our coach and asked if anyone was going all the way to Boulogne. We all admitted we were. Immediately, he addressed himself to my companion and me, we obviously being the free lances in the compartment, having neither husband nor infant, nor dancing little girl, nor wicked little boy to absorb our attention. Would we, we were asked tensely, have an eye on Geraldine, his little daughter, who was making her first crossing unaccompanied, and would we see that she got on the boat for Harfleur. We assured him, almost with heartfelt emotion, that we would watch over Geraldine, that we would keep her with us on the boat, that we would see her off for Harfleur. We comforted him, I know that; he left us gratefully, and in a few minutes Geraldine joined our party.

He had told us she was seventeen. She had attained her full stature of five feet ten and maximum weight of around 180 pounds. She had the typical English girl's manner, calm, extremely polite, baffling, slightly bored, self-contained. She was not inclined to make much of the relationship her father had established between us, and we were minded that we had not promised to be sociable, but only to show a fatherly interest in her at the crucial moments of getting on and off the boat, passing the customs officers, collecting her baggage after the scrutiny, and seeing that it and Geraldine were safely on the boat for Harfleur. All of which we did, almost in an abandon of dutifulness and magnanimity, for Geraldine seemed not to have complete confidence in us. Keeping an eye on her was almost a work of supererogation.

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Still, I have nothing but admiration for her. She was a thorn in our pillows for a night and a morning, but I think she only wanted to prove to herself that she was self-sustaining, and she did it to my complete satisfaction. We may have been useful in accompanying her from the train to the boat, and I think we were instrumental in prevailing upon her to spend the night (it was only a question of a few hours, as we were taking the boat at midnight) in the second-class cabin with the other women passengers instead of on deck, as she was at first inclined. We were in this matter very persuasive. We intimated rather than declared that we thought the outside air would be "chilling," a word carefully chosen. It is a word that has great force with the English. "Freezing" wouldn't mean much to them. It isn't part of their climate. But "chilling"—that is a state of chronic misery out of which they are glad to escape. Geraldine submitted to the cabin with good grace, and we took a secret satisfaction on observing her monumental frame overflowing from the bunk opposite ours.

In the morning, Geraldine was the first passenger to get the coveted chalk crosses of the douane on her baggage, and we were still in a frenzy over ours when we saw her departing in the wake of a dangerous-looking man. True, he was carrying her bags just like a porter. But was he really taking her to the boat for Harfleur? We thought of her white-haired father, of our promise to him, of his comfort in us. What would become of his little girl if we failed in our duty?

There was nothing to do, we decided, except to separate at the risk of never seeing each other again in order to see properly to Geraldine. I went madly in pursuit, while Sister waited to extricate our baggage from the customs. Geraldine was blandly polite; the porter did know the boat for Harfleur, it seemed; I feebly suggested breakfast to Geraldine after she was settled on the boat; and she said goodbye with superb aloofness and impassivity. It was a triumph. You would never have supposed that I was seeing her off.

On another occasion, I pride myself that I was much more effective as a professional see-er-off. We were on the train going from Paris to Neufchatel. At Dijon, an elderly, harassed-looking Sister stood at the door of our carriage and inquired in explosive French if we were going as far as Pontarlier. When she heard that we were, she explained volubly what she was asking us to do. Out of the welter of her torrential French, we understood, more by her supplicating tones than by her words, that she was asking us to see that a little girl changed trains safely at Pontarlier. The child was kissed and put into our carriage. The old nun kissed our hands in gratitude, promised to pray for us, and waved a tearful farewell as the train moved out of the station.

What we first noticed about the girl, who appeared to be fourteen or fifteen, was that she was almost blind. She had long flaxen braids hanging over her shoulders in front. As soon as one looked at her face, one felt the exquisite beauty of patience. Even a black patch over one eye could not disfigure the expression of marvellous gentleness and mildness that made her look like a Madonna of the Flemish school. She told us in lame French that she had gone to Dijon from her home in Switzerland several months earlier in order to learn French, and that she had got an infection in her eyes which required a period of rest and care. She was to be met by her father in Pontarlier.

At Pontarlier we got out of the train with her, and her father saw us immediately. He was a workingman, shabbily dressed, thin, and anxious-looking, but their meeting was one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen. He brought her back into the same carriage, for they found that they did not need to change trains. It was lovely to see his tender care of her. He had brought her a pillow (a thing that had not occurred to our makeshift motherliness, we were ashamed to admit to ourselves). We heard the father ask her if they should go into the *deuxième classe,* an almost unheard-of thing in Switzerland. Everyone (except Americans) travels third class in immaculate cleanliness, but, one must admit, on unmistakably hard seats. *Deuxième classe* was a ridiculous suggestion in the opinion of the thrifty little daughter. She was perfectly comfortable, she said, leaning happily against him. They got out at Neufchatel. We thought for a long time what a delightful experience it had been, that of seeing her off.

On another occasion I was put in charge of a French lady traveling from London to Dover, who refused to have anything to do with me. I was put in charge before she arrived by a friend who had come to see her off, an elderly gentleman who, while waiting for the French lady, enjoyed a fifteen-minute conversation with us, chiefly about a sister of his who was doing social work in the Scottish mining districts. The business of seeing the French lady off, he dispatched quickly, standing on the platform outside our compartment. We heard him telling her about the nice *compagnons de voyage* he had found for her, and proposed that she should get into the compartment and be introduced. With admirable deftness, however, she kept him away from the door of the carriage, and said goodbye on the platform a little way down. When she got in, she never deigned a glance at us. And this attitude of rejection she maintained all the way to Dover. It was blighting. But we recovered our spirits. We had never wanted to see her off.

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BOOKS OF INTEREST IN 1937

DURING the past few weeks, members of our staff have been busily engaged in the difficult task of making a selection from the 7,000 books that have been published this year. It would be the utmost folly to boast of having read or dipped into even half or a third of that terrifying number. We also hasten to confess that we could come to no lasting agreement on mystery stories—but hope to do better next year. By ruthlessly and extravagantly using up several editorial blue-pencils we reduced our preliminary survey to 300 titles, then to 200, and finally emerged from our conference room with the following list which, in our opinion, presents a vivid and authoritative picture of this topsy-turvy world in which we live.

Fiction

The Green Grape, by Simonne Ratel. Macmillan. $2.50.
The Diary of a Country Priest, by Georges Bernanos. Macmillan. $2.75.
Brother Petroc's Return, by S. M. C. Little, Brown. $1.75.
Northwest Passage, by Kenneth Roberts. Doubleday, Doran. $2.75.
Life with Mother, by Clarence Day. Knopf. $2.00.
The Square Peg, by John Masefield. Macmillan. $2.50.
The Years, by Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace. $2.75.
Summer Moonshine, by P. G. Wodehouse. Doubleday, Doran. $2.00.
The Education of Hyman Kaplan, by Leonard Q. Ross. Harcourt, Brace. $2.00.
Invasion, by Maxence Van de Meerch. Viking. $3.00.
The Faithful Wife, by Sigrid Undset. Knopf. $2.50.
Claude, by Genevieve Fauconnier. Macmillan. $2.50.
As the Morning Rising, by Sigrid Van Sweringen. Benziger. $2.00.
A Flower for Sign, by Louis Stancourt. Macmillan. $2.50.
Hero Breed, by Pat Mullen. McBride. $2.50.
Candle for the Proud, by Francis MacManus. Sheed and Ward. $2.50.
Starforth, by Lucille Papin Borden. Macmillan. $2.50.
Child of Light, by Mrs. J. L. Garvin. Longmans, Green. $2.00.
The Late George Apley, by John P. Marquand. Little, Brown. $2.50.

Biography and Autobiography

Sorrow Built a Bridge, by Katherine Burton. Longmans, Green. $2.50.
General Chiang Kai-shek, by General and Madam Chiang Kai-shek. Doubleday, Doran. $2.00.
Jonathan Swift, by Bertram Newman. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.
Aaron Burr, by Nathan Schachner. Stokes. $3.50.
The Minstrel Boy, by L. A. Strong. Knopf. $3.75.
My New World, by Abbé Dimnet. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.
Philip II, by William Thomas Walsh. Sheed and Ward. $5.00.
Something of Myself, by Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.
Pushkin, by Ernest J. Simmons. Harvard. $4.00.
Madame Curie, by Eve Curie. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.
My Father's House, by P. B. Noyes. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.50.
Jefferson Davis, by Robert McElroy. Harper. $7.50.
Great Contemporaries, by Winston Churchill. Putnam. $4.00.
Labby: The Life and Character of Henry Labouchere, by Hesketh Pearson. Harper. $3.50.
Return to Malaya, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart. Putnam. $3.00.
Damien the Leper, by John Farrow. Sheed and Ward. $2.50.
Dr. Edward McGlynn: Rebel, Priest and Prophet, by Stephen Bell. Devin-Adair, $3.00.
Winfield Scott, by C. W. Elliott. Macmillan. $5.00.
Dear Theo: The Autobiography of Vincent Van Gogh; edited by Irving Stone. Houghton Mifflin. $3.75.
This Is My Story, by Eleanor Roosevelt. Harper. $3.00.

Essays, Poetry and Belles-Lettres

The Zeal of Thy House, by Dorothy L. Sayers. Harcourt, Brace. $1.50.
Conversation at Midnight, by Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper. $2.00.
Collected Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson. Macmillan. $3.00.
Small Talk, by Harold Nicolson. Harcourt, Brace. $2.00.
Have You Anything to Declare? by Maurice Baring. Knopf. $2.75.
Realization: A Philosophy of Poetry, by Hugh McCarron, S.J. Sheed and Ward. $1.75.
The Notebooks and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins; edited by Humphry House. Oxford. $8.50.
Eight Decades, by Agnes Repplier. Houghton Mifflin. $3.00.
Journal of Eugene Delacroix. Covici Friede. $7.50.
Lucifer at Large, by C. John McCole. Longmans, Green. $3.00.
Robert Browning and Julia Wedgwood; edited by Richard Curle. Stokes. $3.00.
English Catholic Poets, by Elbridge Colby. Bruce. $2.25.
The Man Who Was Chesterton; edited by Raymond T. Bond. Dodd, Mead. $3.00.
From These Roots, by Mary M. Colum. Scribner's. $2.50.
Shaw: George versus Bernard, by J. P. Hackett. Sheed and Ward. $2.00.
Song at the Scaffold, by Gertrude von le Fort. Sheed and Ward. $1.00.
Works of Thoreau; edited by H. S. Canby. Houghton Mifflin. $3.75.
Freud, Goethe, Wagner, by Thomas Mann. Knopf. $2.00.
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Federal Writers' Project Guides.

Communications

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S CLUBS

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: My principal, pet, permanent peeve is the terrible apathy of Catholics toward the Catholic press; my current peeve is, of course, the Spanish situation; and my reserve peeve of many years is the absence from New York City of the sort of Catholic Woman's Club I have long desired to see.

I was therefore delighted to read Mildred Hagan's letter on this subject; and while my idea of a club is slightly different from Miss Hagan's we agree on many things. The two clubs already in existance seem, from what I hear, to be doing grand work, and the sort of work they set out to do. But such is the mental and physical indolence of some of us that we do not wish to take up tap-dancing or to study Polish or even to become more charming than we already are! But we all do eat and do converse and do read and do make appointments and do relax and do lose mail between movings; and a first-class Catholic Woman's Club (a small private house should be large enough) would solve many of these problems for New Yorkers. With some rooms for transients it should be perfect.

Many clubs, including the Men's Catholic Club, have permanent space in the hotels or in Radio City. This has its advantages. The perils of the ownership of real estate and of its financing are not involved. Labor troubles (elevator strikes, mechanics, window-cleaning ordinances, etc.), liability and other insurance, and the other multitudinous and very serious problems of building management are passed on to the management. A restaurant or two with no initial equipment cost is always available; and with a sufficiently large unit of space the matter of service rendered could be rather elastic. And leases do eventually expire. The location should be as nearly as possible between 34th and 60th Streets.

Miss Hagan's letter should draw out many interesting comments and suggestions from those more familiar with clubs and their management than is the writer.

MARY E. MCLAUGHLIN.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: We fear that your correspondent who wrote that there are no Catholic women's clubs in New York, which have accommodations for transients is a bit misled by Y. W. C. A. propaganda. We hasten to disseminate a little Catholic propaganda on this subject.

We have the beautiful Carroll Club on Madison Avenue. True, permanent guests are principally accommodated here. However, there is the Catholic Women's League at 415 Lexington Avenue, where a girl may apply for room in a Catholic home or apartment. I found a very desirable one. Then there are various residences conducted by the different Sisterhoods. There is also the Leo House, Susan Devon Residence and the Catholic Daughters of America, besides the Catholic Young Women's Club.

Unfortunately, there are not enough of these places. Catholic women and girls are traveling back and forth to New York all the time. Some are forced to leave their homes to earn their living here. There should be more posters telling of accommodations in our churches, particularly in our churches in the center of town. There are a few who have them; but very few.

Right here is a problem that should receive more attention from Catholic philanthropists than it has in the past. Every Catholic girl does not have the same proportion of faith, when she comes to New York. What she has, should be more protected and nourished and not left to wilt in the fetid atmosphere of cheap rooming houses and shady apartments. A little Catholic Action here we think would not be amiss.

ELIZABETH DWYER.

MEDICAL INSURGENTS

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: I noticed a publication in the newspapers of the four principles and seven proposals of the 430 physicians, which, I think, represents a split in medicine or an opposition group to the conservative position held by the A.M.A.

This group, of course, harp on "the health of the people is a direct concern of the government" and with "adequate medical care for the population, voluntary agencies, local, state and federal governments" should be concerned. Did you notice, in the names, that they are mostly full-time paid teachers in medical schools and hospitals? It seems to me that they are trying to "steal the show" and taking advantage of such general statements, as mentioned above, to make criticisms with what they call the "laissez-faire policy" of the A.M.A., inability and unwillingness to meet the economic problems, unadulterated conservatism in the medical profession, etc. It is interesting that this crowd of men do not represent the practitioners of medicine and that they are utilizing the same arguments that one sees in many aspects of New Deal procedures—partly true, partly false and totally reckless and dangerous.

ANTHONY BASSLER, M.D.

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PARENTS AND PAGANISM

Oak Park, Ill.

TO the Editor: THE COMMONWEAL, as long as I have read it, has always had many thoughtful and worthwhile articles in it; but I don't think I have ever found anything in it finer or more arousing than "Parents and Paganism," by Blanche Jennings Thompson. There is a temptation today—to quote Miss Thompson's quotation—to say "What's the use?" But that would be neither Christ-like nor admirable. "Lucifer At Large" lives with that hope!

May I presume to offer a suggestion? Let this article be put out in leaflet form. For us priests to put it into the hands of our faithful would be better than to provide them with a Mission. (But would they read it?) Please overlook the cynicism! And here's my initial order for a thousand copies.

REV. BERNARD E. BURNS.

Webster Groves, Mo.

TO the Editor: After reading the very instructive article entitled "Parents and Paganism" by Blanche Jennings Thompson in the issue of November 19, I feel constrained to write to you and suggest that this article be printed in pamphlet or leaflet form and given the widest possible circulation.

The writer touches on a most vital subject. In vain will we keep up our schools and we might say our churches, in order to educate and train our children in their holy religion, and try to "form Christ" in them that they may be men and women who are Christian to the core, if the most important school of the home is not thoroughly Christian, but pervaded by that atmosphere of neo-paganism that the writer speaks of. Only by a miracle of grace could children brought up in such an atmosphere develop into pure and good and God-fearing Christians.

I would therefore suggest that something be done to make this article available for the widest possible circulation among Catholic parents. Possibly you know a way in which this can be done.

REV. FRANCIS J. REMLER, C.M.

Editor's Note: THE COMMONWEAL *will supply reprints of Blanche Jennings Thompson's article, "Parents and Paganism," at the nominal price of* $1.00 *for fifty. As our supply is limited, your immediate order will be greatly appreciated.*

THE GREAT GARRICK

San Francisco, Calif.

TO the Editor: In a review of the picture, "The Great Garrick," appearing in the October 29 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, Mr. James P. Cunningham refers to Mr. Garrick as the "egomaniacal monarch of the stage in the 1860's." There is an error here regarding the time in which David Garrick lived. He was of the eighteenth century and therefore was monarch of the theatre in the 1760's rather than the 1860's.

JOHN HANIFY MAHER.

APPEAL FROM THE NORTHWEST MISSIONS

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: The Marquette League for Catholic Indians with offices at 105 East 22nd Street, New York City, again follows its usual practise of making a special appeal at Christmas time for our needy Indian Missions.

This year the appeal is in response to the urgent request of His Excellency, Most Reverend Aloysius J. Muench, D.D., Bishop of Fargo, North Dakota. In behalf of his Missions among the Sioux and Chippewa Indians, Bishop Muench pleads:

"My Christmas appeal to you is for sufficient funds to carry on my educational program among the Indian members of my flock. The Indians themselves are too poor to do much for the upkeep of our churches, much less our schools.

"You have, no doubt, read in the daily papers about the conditions existing in the Northwest. Here in North Dakota for several years continued drought prevailed with a consequent complete loss of all crops. Hence, nothing was produced. Thousands of cattle were so weakened by starvation that they were mercifully slain, and near onto a million were shipped out of the state. With all surplus provisions used up, our cattle all gone, empty barns and empty cellars, the greater portion of the Northwest is depending on federal relief for its existence.

"All alike are suffering, the Mission is no exception. Our schools are taxed to capacity and many demands are made by the poor Indians upon the missionary. With no resources of our own, every morsel of food has to be bought. And those long and severe winters here in the Northland! It is rough sailing during the winter months with snow and ice continually covering the ground and the freezing winds ever blowing over the prairies. What can we do? Let the little Indian children committed to our care starve and freeze? Never, not while we have a drop of Christian blood in our veins and good friends such as you to lend us a helping hand."

Bishop Muench was installed as the Bishop of Fargo two years ago. During that short period of time he has proven himself to be most solicitous for the spiritual and material welfare of the Indian members of his flock.

We must help this zealous Bishop in his work among the Indians of his diocese. The Benedictine Fathers and Grey Nuns have done splendid work among the boys and girls of these tribes. I can assure you that, unless a generous response is made to this appeal, his schools may be threatened to close their doors because of the lack of financial help to carry on this great missionary work.

I know our Catholic people and friends of our Indian Missions will desire, if at all possible, to send this apostolic Bishop a real substantial fund to keep his worthy mission schools going until times get better.

In the name of our Infant Saviour, I urge our friends to give what they can in response to Bishop Muench's touching appeal.

REV. BERNARD A. CULLEN,
Director General of Marquette League.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—The Sacred Congregation of Rites has proclaimed in a decree that Mother Francis Xavier Cabrini, foundress of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who died in Chicago twenty years ago, practiced the theological and the cardinal virtues to a heroic degree. * * * Father Peter Tung, priest of Peiping Cathedral, who died recently at the age of seventy-three, had a parish of 7,000 souls. He heard 63,000 confessions and gave 208,000 Communions annually and fostered fifty vocations to the priesthood and sisterhood. * * * At the annual meeting of the Church Extension Society, the Chicago Archdiocesan Mission band offered to give parish missions without fee in poorer cities and towns. * * * The Catholic Theatre Conference, with headquarters at the Catholic University in Washington, has published the first printed issue of the *Bulletin,* its official organ. * * * A Conference on Negro Welfare was held at the Catholic University to draw up nation-wide plans. Diocesan officials and Holy Name directors will be urged to participate in this apostolate. * * * Every family without exception in an area of 100 square miles in the Vicariate Apostolic of Hanyang, China, has expressed a desire to enter the Church. * * * St. Ninian's Council, Knights of Columbus, of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, is working on a cooperative plan to secure hospitalization for members and their families at the local St. Martha's Hospital. The plan entails free ward service for five weeks with a 50 percent reduction on private and semi-private rooms as well as on X-ray, operating room and laboratory services.

The Nation.—Bills embodying the President's housing ideas were presented to Congress November 30, and leaders believed they would be acted upon without much debate before the regular legislative program should be completed. * * * Hearings on regional planning legislation were started before the House Rivers and Harbors Committee. All the arguments over conservation, electric power, centralization, etc., etc., that have come up in connection with TVA, were advanced, although the proposed regional authorities would have only a very small part of the TVA's rights and duties. * * * Senators Borah and O'Mahoney pushed a bill to set up federal licenses for the conduct of interstate commerce. Standards required for license would cover a wide range of social objectives, but would be designed particularly to stop the concentration of wealth and power in fewer and fewer companies. * * * The National Child Labor Committee announced an increase of child labor during the past year. "The number of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children receiving first regular employment certificates for full-time work during the last six months of 1936 increased 48 percent over. . . 1935." * * * During the fiscal year of 1937 the government built 22,000 miles of all classes of highways, topping the former record of 21,700 miles, made in 1934. * * * Henry Ford gave a typical interview to the papers, attacking in his stimulating manner the "money business" as contrasted to production. "The present system has got us twisted into producing things to buy dollars with, when what we need is a money system that will produce dollars to buy goods with." He called the present slump "temporary and artificial."

The Wide World.—Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin, in a speech in Leningrad, let it be known that in only a negligible number of the Soviet Union's 1,143 districts will there be more than one candidate for the Supreme Council in the secret election on December 12 under the new Constitution. * * * The United States Marshal's office in New York arrested General Gerardo Machado, deposed President of Cuba, wanted there on charges of murder and embezzlement. The Cuban government will push the extradition of the island's former dictator. * * * Prince Bernhard, consort of Crown Princess Juliana of Holland, was seriously injured in an Amsterdam automobile crash. * * * Walther Funk, Nazi Press Chief and State Secretary in the Propaganda Ministry, was appointed Dr. Hjalmar Schacht's successor as Minister of Economics. Dr. Schacht remains president of the Reichsbank and will become Minister without Portfolio in Hitler's Cabinet. General Erich Ludendorff, foe of Catholicism, was reported dying in a Catholic nursing home in Munich. * * * A Nationalist army in Spain, estimated at 100,000 men, moved into position for what may be the final drive of the war. General Franco sent the Loyalist government an ultimatum demanding unconditional surrender before December 5. The Nationalists proclaimed a blockade of all Loyalist ports. Great Britain denied the authority of the Nationalists to establish such a blockade because the régime did not enjoy belligerent rights, and, at the same time, accepted the appointment of the Duke of Alba as General Franco's chief agent in London. * * * The Italian government formally recognized Manchukuo as an independent state and will establish a legation at Hsinking. Japan and Manchukuo recognized the Franco régime in Spain and General Franco, in turn, recognized Manchukuo.

* * * *

The Budget.—Important forces in Congress, in their eagerness to overcome the present slump and to effect a reconciliation with business, are determined to change the tax structure. Chairman Harrison of the Senate Finance Committee claims a tax bill will be on the President's desk by February 1. Practically repudiating the undistributed profits tax, Senator Harrison said it "must be substantially modified." He was equally clear about changing the capital gains tax. Treasury officials are leading the defense of these two taxes which are hated by "business." So far, the President has insisted only that the federal income from taxation must not be reduced. In a letter to majority leader Barkley and in other ways,

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the President insisted upon the necessity of balancing the budget and declared that if Congress changes taxes, Congress must see to it that the new taxes bring in as much money. Through his private secretary, Stephen Early, he let it be known that he would veto all bills that would throw the budget out of balance. The farm bill furnished the first test case. When that was reported to the Senate, the administration pointed out that it would call for appropriations of about $700,000,000, while all there was available for farm uses was $500,000,000. A sharper test came over appropriations for federal-aid highways. Before 1930, the average annual federal outlay for highways was about $100,000,000. During the past five years, however, the federal government has spent about $1,450,000,000 on highways—more than twice the regular amount. When the administration tried to go back to the smaller figure, real congressional opposition was met.

Farm Bills.—Both Houses of Congress were debating farm bills during the week, and it appeared that the bills submitted by both agricultural committees would be thoroughly amended. By December 1, the National Grange and the National Cooperative Council, perhaps the largest and most influential farm organizations in the country, had both insisted that the bills be returned to committee and that all compulsory control features be deleted. The American Farm Bureau Federation was the only large farm sponsor the legislation retained. In the Senate, nobody seemed to know how much the farm law would cost the government, although it was expected about $750,000,000. The administration warned the Senate that only $500,000,000 was available for farm uses. In the House a rivalry developed between sponsors of farm laws and sponsors of wages and hours law. Unless these two groups worked out a bargain, they could hold each other up indefinitely. A minority in the House also attacked the farm bill as constituting a challenge to the courts and opening up again the old court debate bitterness. In working out the details of the bills, the main question seemed to be what crops would be controlled, and when those controls would start. These detailed debates seemed to assume an agreement on principle which neither the House nor the Senate has shown. Even the AAA officials, in their testimony, seem unsure as to the degree of compulsion desirable in regulating crops.

China.—Two important developments in the Far East seem to be engaging the State Department at Washington. There is a strong rumor that Japan will actually declare war on China once their forces are within a few days of taking Nanking. This would give the Nipponese the right to demand the withdrawal of all foreign land and naval forces and might even lead to the abandonment of the International Settlement and the French Concession at Shanghai. It would call into play the American Neutrality Act, but the blockade of the Chinese coast is so effective and our munitions trade with Japan so small that it would not materially affect our foreign commerce. The other development is the report that the Japanese, on taking over the customs at Tientsin, have lowered the duties on Japanese goods, thus cutting into our market as effectively as they did in Manchukuo. The State Department is seeking confirmation of these reports before launching a formal protest. There have been several warnings from British, French and American sources on Japanese handling of the customs at Shanghai, and the American Ambassador at Tokyo delivered a note to the Japanese Foreign Minister in person, demanding that the United States be consulted on any taking over of the customs. The Japanese have also taken charge of radio and postal services at Shanghai. They are reported to have ordered 500 locomotives for the development of North China. The drive toward Nanking continued and several key cities fell to the attackers. The current *Oriental Economist* claims that only some 20 percent of the bonds authorized by the Diet last August have been issued, and that the peak of military expenditures was already past. Nevertheless it seemed apparent that China's only hope of ultimate victory was exhausting, prolonged guerilla warfare.

Mexico.—Athletics was the theme of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Mexican Revolution. For the past four months government employees have been put through a regular course in physical training. All labor union members and government workers were reported to be threatened with loss of employment if they failed to participate in the huge anniversary demonstration at Mexico City. Teachers and children from the official schools were also ordered to take part, the girls parading in bathing suits. As a part of the festivities a public labor meeting was held in front of the presidential palace with President Cárdenas on the balcony above. At the present session of the Mexican Congress he is sponsoring a number of legislative measures. One of them, a Constitutional Amendment, would give women the vote; another would give public employees all the rights afforded to Mexican labor except the right to strike. When a bill to establish nation-wide cooperatives on the Scandinavian model was discussed, a Congressional Committee so modified it that it would provide for a series of corporations on the Italian model, all under presidential direction. The revised bill was said to have considerable official support, but it was vigorously opposed by the strong National Workers Federation. Heartened by his deal with the British Royal Dutch Shell oil interests President Cárdenas proposed by far the largest budget in Mexican history—400,000,000 pesos—for 1938. Officially the government continued unperturbed by the steady fall of metallic bank reserves.

Unrest.—The bishops on the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference declared, in a recent statement, that economic evils have increased since the close of the World War and that social injustice has embittered the jobless and the poor throughout the world. In every discussion of grievances and remedies, calmness, accuracy of statement and prudent restraint are highly desirable qualities. Irresponsible doctrinaires, however, have seized upon world-wide discontent and capitalized it. Pope Pius XI has challenged the attention of all groups who have had any part in social injustice and calls for a

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reconstruction of the social order. He advocates no dictatorship either of the Right or the Left. He seeks no governmental bureaucracy. He desires to see the guild system reestablished in a manner adapted to modern problems and conditions. Neither unrestrained competition, nor monopoly, nor class conflict, nor ubiquitous governmental control provides a sound remedy. Social well-being can be attained best by vocational groups ordering their own economic life under the guidance and encouragement of government. An unjust economic system, he has demonstrated, has had much to do with the rapid spread of the world's social cancer—atheistic Communism. His voice is for peace as against war between capital and labor. For labor, he has fearlessly demanded recognition of its right to organize, just wages, healthy and humane working conditions, and security for sickness and old age.

French Plots.—On November 23, the French Minister of Interior, Marx Dormoy, issued a rather long statement concerning the Cagoulards and the munitions recently found in various caches by the French secret police. His statement claimed: "A real plot against the republican régime has been brought to light." He said that the Cagoulards (the Hooded Ones) had an organization formed on military lines and that they intended to set up a dictatorial régime which would usher in the restored Bourbon monarchy. The government took elaborate police precautions throughout Paris and especially around the ministry buildings, but the parties of the Right claimed that the Popular Front was using the situation—in itself trivial—for political purposes. One of the persons held by the police in connection with the Cagoulard menace was the Corsican Duke Pozzo de Borgo, an old aide of Colonel de la Rocque, who, at the time of his arrest for "having relations with wrongdoers," was defending himself with sixteen other men against a libel charge by Colonel de la Rocque. Colonel de la Rocque denies their statement that he received secret funds from the French government for his now disbanded Croix de Feu. Testimony by André Tardieu kept coming up against La Rocque. The former Premier claims he did give the Croix de Feu state funds and that he backed their candidates for Parliament. For over a year and a half Léon Blum and his companions have been charging that Colonel de la Rocque and his co-workers have broken the law through the formation of the French Social party, which, they claim, is merely a disguise for the old illegal "Fascist" formation. Interest in the libel suit has risen immensely since one of the defendants was jailed in connection with the Cagoulard and royalist scare. To date, however, no connection has been shown between the "Hooded Ones" and the French Social party.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—With a view to bringing about a closer link between business and religion and effecting a better understanding among churchmen of various denominations, men of Fort Wayne, Ind., and vicinity are planning the formation of an interdemoniational laymen's organization. The first step was a mass meeting attended by about 700 churchmen of practically all denominations. Mr. R. G. LaTourneau, Peoria manufacturer, and Dr. C. A. Price, Cincinnati surgeon, addressed the meeting. "We can't leave God out of the life of business and expect to succeed as individuals," Mr. LaTourneau asserted. "We need to bet on the right track with God. Before you ask what God can do for the business man, it would be well to inquire as to your relationship with God." * * * Connecticut clergymen joined in the strong opposition that has been voiced in this state since it was announced that the German-American Bund had purchased 178 acres of land in Southbury for the purpose of establishing what will be its largest camp in the United States. Reverend Felix A. Manley, pastor of the Southbury Federated Church, said the camp was an indication that Fascism was gaining a foothold in America, and he also declared that America was "not a picnic ground in which un-American inhabitants can tear down what has been built so slowly and at so much cost." * * * A campaign to organize round-table conferences of Protestants, Catholics and Jews throughout the country will feature the tenth anniversary celebration of the founding of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, it was announced by Dr. Everett R. Clinchy. Leading the campaign will be the executive committee of one hundred of the National Conference, of which Newton D. Baker, Protestant, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, Catholic, and Roger W. Straus, Jew, are co-chairmen.

Hofmann.—The first fifty years of Josef Hofmann's career as an artist in America were celebrated at the Metropolitan Opera House where, as a boy of eleven, he made his début on November 29, 1887. The entire proceeds of the concert of this world famous pianist were turned over to the Musicians Emergency Fund. The audience was one of the most distinguished ever to assemble in the opera house. Messages of congratulation poured in from all parts of the country. In his introductory remarks, Dr. Walter Damrosch, who conducted for young Josef in an 1887 concert, asserted that "there was one little boy at the Hofmann concert, brought by his mother, who asked her whether she thought he would be able to play like little Josef. The muses were not at the boy's cradle; he did not become a great pianist. But he did all right. He is President of the United States." The entire performance was recorded. A complete set of discs will be sent to Warsaw, Poland, to the artist's mother.

Death Drug.—Ninety-three persons died from "elixir sulfanilamide," according to Secretary Wallace's sixteen-page report of the greatest man-hunt in the history of the Federal Food and Drug agency, carried out in fifteen states. Next in importance to the fact that so many innocent people have died is the statement: "Since the Federal Food and Drugs Act contains no provision against dangerous drugs, seizures had to be based on a charge that the word 'elixir' implies an alcoholic solution, whereas this product was a diethylene glycol solution. Had the product been called a 'solution' rather than an 'elixir,' no charge of violating the law could have been brought." The report had no quarrel with sulfanilamide as a chem-

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ical, which was first announced in European medical literature and "has shown dramatic curative effects." It quoted the *Journal* of the American Medical Association as holding that, while "potentially dangerous," sulfanilamide if properly used, "may be brilliantly successful in treating various infections." Originally prepared at the Bristol, Tenn., plant of the S. E. Massengill Company, the preparation came to be distributed from its chief branches at Kansas City, New York and San Francisco. The report cannot quarrel with the firm's failure to make a test because "the existing Food and Drugs Act does not require that new drugs be tested before they are placed on sale." It did quarrel, however, with the manner in which the concoction of an otherwise beneficial drug was prepared and distributed, "with only a test for its flavor, but not for its effect on human life." The one redeeming statement made was that the federal authorities, from the time the poisonous potion was first reported on October 14, had been on the go until every drop had been confiscated or accounted for weeks later. Until the Food and Drugs Law is made fool proof, the public will suffer.

A New England "Joker."—Proposals inserted in two New England flood-control compacts by utility interests would wreck the federal government's power program, Judson King, director of the National Popular Government League, asserted in a bulletin made public November 28. Mr. King further declares that the New England States are up in arms over the federal government's proposed "invasion" under the Regional Conservation Bill, which would create a New England district as one of the seven "TVA's" of the projected legislation. Mr. King, who writes enthusiastically in favor of the New Deal's power program, charges in his league bulletin that Walter S. Fenton, Robert W. Upton and Henry I. Harriman, whom he identifies as "three of the keenest private utility lawers in New England," provided the "inspiration" for the "jokers." Referring to one of the disputed provisions, which would reserve to the federal government only veto power over any power development in the Merrimac or Connecticut River basins, Frank R. McNinch, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, told the House Flood Control Committee that "the federal government could not initiate a single solitary power project in connection with any flood control dams or reservoirs to be constructed, although the federal government has today an inherent right in the power that is potential in navigable waters and the tributaries thereof." Early in October, according to Mr. King, "the six New England Governors and the New England Council," which the bulletin described as representing the "financial and other interests" of New England, "launched a movement to induce Congress to ratify interstate flood control compacts affecting the Connecticut and Merrimac Rivers, which had failed of approval at the last session." The Federal Power Commission advised Congress that the proposed compacts were illegal because they violated the Water Power Act of 1920 and the Flood Control Act of 1936 in permitting the states to retain title to the dam sites. The commission also remarked, according to Mr. King, that the compacts

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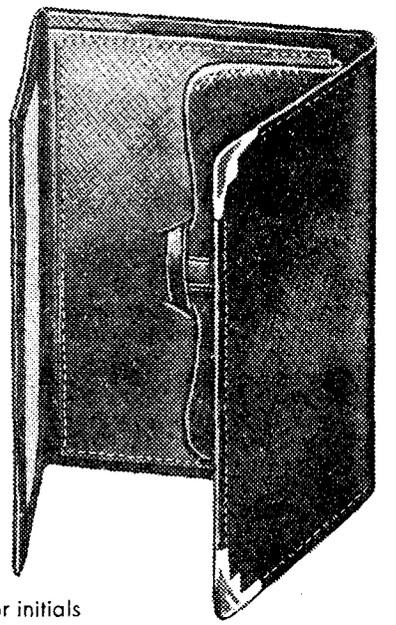

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as drawn, since they reserved the right to each state, "at its option at any time hereafter," to develop water power, violated the Water Power Act of 1920 "because in that act Congress placed under national jurisdiction plenary control of power in all navigable streams and their tributaries."

Labor.—The bus strike on the Greyhound Lines which started Thanksgiving Day spread to sixteen states and brought violence and a genuine tie-up in New England and New York. * * * Jersey City and its political leader, Frank Hague, proved once more their determination to keep the C.I.O. from the district when local police arrested a group of organizers who had been sent in to distribute circulars advertising a meeting. The charge was "unlawful assembly." * * * The United Automobile Workers struck Ford plants in St. Louis, Long Beach and Kansas City, but were apparently unable to close the factories. The Ford campaign had not yet gotten to the main mill at Dearborn. The union was reported to be torn by factionalism, the "Progressives" now in control having a stiff fight against the "Unity" group. Louis Stark, chief labor reporter of the New York *Times,* followed the fight and explained it as primarily an attempt of the Communist party members and those who follow the Communist "line" to get control of the union. The tactics used were classical. The position of the C.I.O. central leaders was not openly declared. * * * Negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. seemed to be leading steadily nearer an understanding. The exploring committees agreed on a five-point agenda, covering their main points of disagreement, and a meeting was arranged for December 2 between Mr. Green and Mr. Harrison of the Federation and Mr. Lewis and Mr. Murray of the C.I.O.

Union School.—Taking advantage of the numbers of experts now concentrated in the nation's capital, the United Federal Workers of America, an affiliate of the C.I.O., have opened a Federal Workers School in an office building near the White House. The teaching staff includes Lewis Carline, editor of the government workers' union official organ; Fred Sevier, formerly planning analyst of the WPA; Dallas Smythe of the University of California, now with the National Resources Committee; Eleanor Nelson, formerly of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor; Carolyn Ware, associate professor of social economy and social history at the American University, and others. These instructors, and the guest lecturers who round out the teaching staff, give their time and services free, but it is hoped that the school will soon be on a more permanent basis. Among the eighteen courses now offered are: Union Organization, the Economic Order, Labor and Social Legislation, Principles of Economics, Statistics, International Affairs, You and Your Job, Creative Writing, Drama and Public Speaking. Of the 300 students already enrolled, 75 percent are government employees; the rest include laundry workers, clerks in department stores, domestic servants and housewives. Members of C.I.O. unions in good standing pay $2 a semester tuition, others pay $2.50 for the ten-weeks course.

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The Play and Screen

The Ghost of Yankee Doodle

A DEBT of gratitude is owed the Theatre Guild for bringing Miss Ethel Barrymore back to the New York stage and giving us as her co-featured player, Mr. Dudley Digges. Never has Miss Barrymore been lovelier or more gracious than in Sydney Howard's play, and never has Mr. Digges shown himself more completely master of his art—Miss Barrymore as the matron of the family of liberals, Mr. Digges as the unscrupulous newspaper magnate. Then again the Guild is to be thanked by surrounding them with such admirable players as Frank Conroy, Eliot Cabot, George Nash, Russell Hardie, Don Costello and Barbara Robbins. In short, whatever is possible to do has been done to give the play color and reality. Mr. Howard has told the story of a family of liberals and pacifists whose fortune is saved by the outbreak of the very thing they most detest—war. It is, therefore, outside the death of the newspaper magnate's son, a play with a happy ending with a reverse ironic twist. Mr. Howard has in the past written many admirable things, but in "The Ghost of Yankee Doodle" he has failed to synthesize his idea, perhaps because he has tried to incorporate so many diverse elements, elements which could be properly fused only in the form of a novel. He writes well, though at times with a literary rather than a dramatic quality. But it is at least a laudable attempt to give the tragedy of the liberal in a world on the brink of war. (At the Guild Theatre.)

Of Mice and Men

THOSE who have read John Steinbeck's novel realize that a new and original talent has risen in the literary world. "Of Mice and Men" is not a pleasant story. It deals with a group of men and one woman who are not in the genteel tradition, and the chief protagonist, Lennie, is a half-wit. To tell the story of these people, most of whom belong to the flotsam and jetsam of the world, is a difficult thing to do without offense against the basic decencies of art, yet Mr. Steinbeck by his sense of pathos and his poetic feeling robbed some of the story of its unpleasantness, informing the tale with tragedy and pity. In short, Mr. Steinbeck is not just another hard-boiled realist, but a poet sensitive to the plight of the unfortunate and underprivileged, of those inarticulate men and women, without roots or basic intelligence, who are one of the chief problems of American civilization. Out of this novel Mr. Steinbeck has fashioned a play holding the essential spirit of the book, a drama of suspense and brooding tragedy. Moreover, George S. Kaufman has cast and directed it superbly. It throbs with life and is permeated with an implicit poetry. Broderick Crawford is magnificent as Lennie, dumb in mind and body, yet poignantly pathetic, while Wallace Ford as George, John F. Hamilton as Candy, Will Geer as Slim, Sam Byrd as Curley, and Thomas Findley as the Boss, are equally real.

So far "Of Mice and Men" deserves praise and only praise. But then comes the matter of the dialogue. It is true

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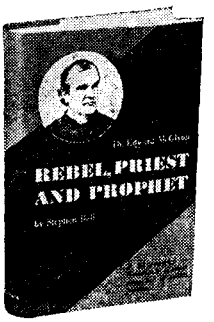

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—Dan Williams in the Churchman.

to life, at times poetic, utterly dramatic, but is none the less appalling. It is unquestioned that the people of Mr. Steinbeck's creation would use the language allotted them, but are such people fitted for dramatic representation unexpurgated in their speech? Mr. Steinbeck has made their language less brutal than it would be in real life, but it is to be wished that the dramatist had gone farther, and employed suggestion rather than bald statement. To say everything violates the canons not only of good taste but of art itself. "Of Mice and Men" is an unusual play, but it would have been an even better one had it allowed less license to its language. (At the Music Box.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Bemana

"BEMANA" is one of the most realistic, one of the most engrossing and technically perfect film stories ever told of remote islanders. In the Fijis, Father A. J. Laplante, a Marist missionary, found the usual primitiveness of race and religion. With Mr. Charles Meyer, a European cinematographer traveling the world, he spent five months during his ten years at Bemana, taking a motion picture of the islands and their inhabitants. Returning to this country on his first holiday, Father Laplante and Father Daniel S. Rankin, S.M., have edited the film record, synchronizing one of the finest musical scores ever set to a background. Father Rankin did an expert job in voice narration.

This picture of primitive people—their land, their customs, their music and handiwork—is a strange mixture of the deviltries of primitiveness and the effects of slowly acquired belief in God. The natives permitted Father Laplante to film secret customs, and he builds to several breathtaking episodes, highlighting a rare ritual of emptying the river of sharks, which never bite so long as their captors participate in the native bedevilments on the previous eve.

The actual story is the reenactment of a miracle that was witnessed by the natives, the priests and the nuns who assist them. Buli Bemana, Fijian chief, afflicted by a bedeviled sorceress, suffers untold agonies until he meets Sister Sabine. She sees the sores on his arms, and tells him he should know he is under the spell of the sorcerer. Advised by her to pray, he reluctantly agrees. On the last day of a novena to the Little Flower, Chief Buli is miraculously cured. In gratitude his gathers his people, tells them of the divine favor, and gives the Marist missionaries his assurances of aid.

In the picture, as in reality, Chief Buli later meets the new missionary, Father Leplante, with further promises of assistance. And Buli did help. Father Laplante was able to build the first concrete church in the South Seas, seating 600. The film ends with a glamorous representation of the blessing of the edifice by the Bishop. The natives with the priests and nuns made the occasion a matter of special pomp and ceremony.

This reenactment of events that actually transpired is a remarkable performance of a remarkable record.

Reverend A. J. Laplante, S.M., may be reached at 25 Isabella Street, Boston, and Reverend Daniel S. Rankin, S.M., at St. Mary's Manor, South Langhorne, Pa.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Books

Nazi Exile Tells All

I Knew Hitler: The Story of a Nazi Who Escaped the Blood Purge, by Kurt G. W. Ludecke. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

THIS book is anything but pleasant reading throughout its 800 pages of wretched human vanity, frailty and resentment, of trash and political dirt, of atrocities against helpless prisoners. It is the story of the disillusioned Nazi propagandist who sells his knowledge of Nazi leaders and party intimacies to an American publisher. There is no fight for principles, as in Trotsky's books against Stalin. If he had not casually mixed with some political intrigues which seemed unpleasant to the moguls of the party, this man Ludecke might today be an ardent Nazi official, advertising the Nordic myth and calumniating Jews and Jesuits. Such types of half-baked intellectual training and lack of party discipline are often useful to revolutionary movements in their making, but fail as soon as their group gains power and responsibility.

It is a sad story. Here is only a cheated ambition for power and prestige, a growing disappointment that instead of a brilliant Nazi career he had to face distrust, prison and concentration camp. Still the author of this indiscreet confession story is imbued with anti-Semitism and neo-pagan idols. His bitter experiences have given him some malignity and misanthropy, but not any new aspect of life. This makes his story one of the most depressing autobiographies I ever read. Nevertheless it is a useful book to the future historian who will be critical enough to examine where the author is worthy of belief and where hate and conceitedness misguided his pen.

Ludecke is a pompous fellow and so he needs much diffuseness to tell about himself. But there are some high points in his story where he touches the border of historical destiny. He was the first Nazi agent who made contact with Mussolini, and if he would not be too embittered to appreciate the success of Hitler's foreign politics he might claim to be the first accoucheur of the "Berlin-Rome axis."

After a few adventures in other countries, some rather ambiguous, Ludecke came to America as a Nazi propagandist, trusted by Rosenberg and Hitler. He had previously been in this country for a shorter trip, but failed in his purpose to get cash for National-Socialist propaganda from Henry Ford and Hiram Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, though at least he aroused a certain interest in the movement and married an American girl from Detroit. So Ludecke was able to start his Nazi propaganda under favorable conditions, and not at all as a greenhorn. But he evidently was not a very sociable character. There were intrigues with other Germans working for Hitler in this country and the criticism of Ludecke's tactics was brought before the Brown House and the Ministry of Propaganda. Ludecke traveled to Germany in order to settle this matter. There he met disaster: instead of triumphing over his accusers, he was made "prisoner in protective custody" without trial.

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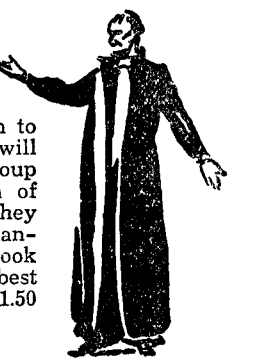

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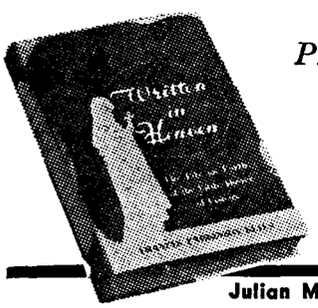

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Ludecke's description of the concentration camps verifies the story of many anti-Nazi authors on barbarous mistreatment. His former "party comrades" will be shocked by his embittered "frankness." His portraits of the Nazi leaders are mostly not very flattering. Goering, Goebbels and Hanfstaengl, the last now himself a voluntary emigrant from Naziland, are the special scapegoats of the author's resentment. He describes them as the wicked slanderers of innocent Mr. Ludecke and the bitterness against these successful men seems much stronger than Ludecke's affection for Roehm and his friends, with whom he had only rather casual relations though he dedicates his book to their memory. As Ludecke escaped from concentration camp in February and arrived in America some time before June 30, his book's thrilling subtitle, "The Story of a Nazi Who Escaped the Blood Purge," must not be taken too literally.

A conversation with Hitler, reported by Ludecke in an apparently truthful way, shows anew the Fuehrer's personal attitude toward the Christian religion and the Catholic Church. Hitler is longing for a "German Church"—"without a Pope and without the Bible." Hitler explained to Ludecke that the Nazis had to overcome one enemy after another—first the Jews and the Marxists, then the Reactionaries, and last Christianity—and that the opening of Nazi shrines and Nazi temples has to follow the collapse of the churches.

One of the few agreeable features of Ludecke's verbose book is the pedantic index, which facilitates refinding passages of historical interest in the midst of an abundance of trifles.

C. O. Cleveland.

Art and Missouri

An Artist in America, by Thomas Benton. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. $3.75.

Is Art a Superstition, or a Way of Life? by Dr. Amanda K. Coomaraswamy. Newport, R. I.: John Stevens. $.50.

BENTON'S murals are generally considered as important contemporary American art as anything being done, and though one may disagree violently, his *apologia* is worthy of consideration. It is a lively human document, handsomely illustrated by the artist and spiced with some of that real man from home, typically and uniquely American humor, which is provocative of loud laughter while one reads. It is marred by some grossness that he has confused with frankness. It is also marred by an amoral attitude toward debauchery which is always fashionable among the art for art's sake people and is confused by them not only with artistic license but also with what is actually necessary for the artist's complete education. These are such prevalent confusions that they are to be wrestled with, rather than ignored; otherwise no headway can be made against them.

Mr. Benton so deliberately sets out to be American of the American (and he makes out a pretty good case of it) that he can be dealt with as a social phenomenon rather than, as he thinks of himself, an eccentric genius like

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Bevenuto Cellini. He is that preponderant American who has denied his soul, and feeling lost and frustrated without it, spends the rest of his life looking for it, without having the courage to realize or admit what he is looking for. Having denied his soul, there is nothing left but to be a full-blooded activist, a go-getter, with the shell of the hard-guy and the ornaments of the sentimentalist. The result, when he is not like an obnoxious, exhibitionistic child being lewd or profane, is comic in the Will Rogers, Mark Twain tradition.

Artistically, Mr. Benton inclines to the great Florentines. He is a careful, competent craftsman, modeling his figure subjects in the round before he starts to paint, and making a completely integrated color composition without reference to factitious naturalism. His things, as a result, jump out of the frame. It is as impossible to ignore them as it is to ignore the paintings by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel. They are violent and at the opposite pole from the murals which are conceived of as two-dimensional decorations (usually calm and pleasing) of the architectural features of a room. Mr. Benton is naively disturbed because so many amiable people violently dislike his work, when of course the truth is that they are at perfect liberty to be interested in and at the same time not to care for his style, for his lack of soul and for his flouting of the ideals which sustain the legislators and neighbors of his home state of Missouri, as they sustained the parents he loved. That the ideals are fallen short of does not deny their value and is no excuse for an artistic slap in the public's face.

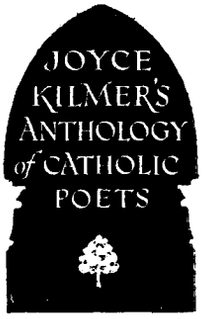
The well-printed pamphlet mentioned above, has all the answers to Mr. Benton's misgivings. Originally delivered as a lecture at the Metropolitan Museum, it was first published in the *American Revue,* and is as full of Catholic common sense as Mr. Benton is of agnostic, or deliberately ignorant, nonsense, antic funny as it may be at times.

FREDERIC THOMPSON.

Scholar and Poet

Alfred Edward Housman: Recollections, by Katharine E. Symons, A. W. Pollard, Laurence Housman, R. W. Chambers, Alan Ker, A. S. F. Gow and John Sparrow. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

AN EARLY item in what will undoubtedly be a considerable literature on the late A. E. Housman, this little volume of reminiscences is of the highest interest. Given over almost entirely to scholarship and teaching, Housman's life was for the most part outwardly uneventful. Hence the necessary scarcity of biographical material makes the information set down in the present work all the more valuable. For an understanding of Housman's poetry and of the mind and heart from which that poetry issued, the recollections of his boyhood contributed by his sister are most important. So also do the other contributions throw light upon the depth and variety of his personality and character. "His foible seems to have been a desire to excel in things undertaken by him," writes his sister. Certainly, Housman must have recognized



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early in life his own great abilities. His verses, "Summer," written at the age of fifteen and now printed for the first time, show how soon and how well he exercised his poetic genius. Likewise were his genius and goal as a scholar seen by him early, perhaps too early, in life. This desire to excel and to raise monuments to himself dominated his life and determined his career.

Known to the learned world as one of the greatest of modern classical scholars, known to the literary world as one who had secured in his own day a place in the long line of English poets, Housman showed still further talents to his small circle of intimate friends. In addition to the mordant wit that he sometimes displayed as a critic, the author of "A Shropshire Lad," "Last Poems" and "More Poems" wrote humorous verse of a high order. It is to be regretted that Housman himself did not wish to be remembered in this way and ordered that much of his humorous verse be destroyed. The few pieces that survive, some of them given in this volume, indicate what has been lost, and what Housman might have done in the province of Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll. The illustrations, several of them from rare photographs, add to the interest and value of this memorial of an extraordinary mind and man.

JOHN K. RYAN.

Tawdry

Enchanter's Nightshade, by Ann Bridge. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. $2.50.

ANN BRIDGE (pseudonymous wife of a British Foreign Office official) won an Atlantic prize in 1932 with her "Peking Picnic." Two years later her "Ginger Griffin" was published; and in 1935 her "Illyrian Spring" must have sent thousands to the eastern Adriatic in search of love. Now she has written "Enchanter's Nightshade."

Despite some pseudo-intellectual references to Croce's early philosophy and other more or less recondite matters, its first ten chapters are good—and also dull. Thereafter the style changes, almost as if another hand had "taken over."

The story concerns an English governess, too innocent to live, who is plunged into a nest of Italian love affairs: assignation and *consiglio di famiglia* without end. They bore one. Nadia, the Russian, shoots herself, and Suzy, the Marchesa, fires the governess in Chapter XV because of jealous hatred—literally throws her into the cold, cold world. The melodrama of this, and of what follows, leaves the brain stultified and the sense of literary values sour. Much of the writing is horrible. Italians are misinterpreted and Austrians despised: diplomatic behaviorism, undoubtedly. Not much is left except matriarchy and sex appeal, and they seem rather cheap and tawdry. In brief, "Enchanter's Nightshade" is a potential best seller of that somewhat hackneyed variety which certain readers and publishers esteem highly. It has a veneer of respectability over its sexuality.

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The Final Choice, by Stephen and Joan Raushenbush. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50. Realistic if unliterary speculations on America's coming foreign relations based on twentieth-century history by commentators who apparently consider dictatorships as characteristic only of the Right. Their international anti-war plan would tend to allay specific disputes between nations, but ultimately it rests on the French idea of an international police force.

The Marsh, by Ernest Raymond. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. $2.75. This is a vivid and dramatic tale of London slum life, centering in Danny Council. Depicting him first as a boy just out of grade school, it brings this character through a life of about twenty years, wherein is traced the downward path that opens before him and leads through force of circumstance to the bitter end of a hardened criminal.

Roosevelt—And Then? by Stanley High. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.00. Boomed as "lifting the lid" of Washington, Stanley High's book succeeds in getting farther than that. It is an acute, if not profound, examination of things that have "released forces and set a trend in the United States which are as much more significant than the New Deal as they threaten to be beyond its control." Distinguishing sharply economic from political, the analysis gains clarity but ends up rather unintegrated.

Last Flight, by Amelia Earhart. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50. The log of her flying days, including the unfinished trip around the world, creates for us a woman with the perpetual smile of youth. Supplied with illustrations, aerial and personal, of places the world over, it is a glimpse into the future of airplane travel. As a fitting tribute to the author, G.P.P. has reproduced a paragraph from a letter whose lines represent Amelia Earhart's true personality.

Bartlett's Familiar Quotations; edited by Christopher Morley and Louella D. Everett. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $5.00. The eleventh edition of this valuable reference work has been completely revised and enlarged, the literature of the past twenty-five years having been expertly winnowed for the additions. There are nearly twice as many quotations as in the 1914 edition.

CONTRIBUTORS

Randall Pond sends this article from Mexico City.
Robert P. Tristram Coffin, professor of English at Bowdoin College, is the author of of several books, of which the latest is "Kennebec."
Mary J. McCormick is associated with the School of Social Work, Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.
Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., is a member of the faculty of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.
Sister Julie, O.P., teaches at Rosary College, River Forest, Ill.
C. O. Cleveland, former newspaper correspondent, is an authority on European affairs.
Frederic Thompson is an artist and art critic.
Rev. John K. Ryan is a member of the faculty of philosophy at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
Lloyd W. Eshleman is a writer of reviews and critical articles.

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